FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

SEPTEMBER 19, 1914

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OFF FOR THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

(First group of Campaigners leaving Washington for the Suffrage States. They will appeal to the Women Voters to cast their votes against the Democratic Candidates for Congress owing to the blocking of the Federal Suffrage Amendment by the National Democratic Party)

Vol. II SEPTEMBER 19, 1914. No. 38

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Notes of the Week

Situation in Congress

THE week in Congress has been devoted principally to the consideration of the Federal Trade Commission measure, the River and Harbor Appropriation bill and the National Banking law. The difficulty in securing a quorum continued. No attention was given to the suffrage amendment. Members of the Rules Committee of the House were again appealed to by Suffragists, but refused to give any assurance that time would be allotted for the consideration of the question in the House.

Alabama and the "Black List"

THE Executive Board of the Alabama Equal Suffrage Association decided this week to take no action with regard to the suggestion of the National American Woman Suffrage Association that Representative Oscar W. Underwood, from that State, be opposed in the congressional election. It declared itself a non-partisan organization and stated that it did not support the proposed plan of conducting a campaign against Mr. Underwood.

Mrs. Bryan for Suffrage

MRS. W. J. BRYAN, wife of the Secretary of State, has openly declared for woman suffrage, following the lead taken by her husband a few weeks ago. In a signed statement she says:

"I have never been an anti-suffragist, nor attended any anti meetings. I have been a firm believer in suffrage without a sex qualification for 25 years, and wish success to the equal suffrage movement. Our older daughter has been an interested voter in Colorado, our younger, a member of the College League at the Nebraska State University.

"MARY BAIRD BRYAN."

The Campaign States

MISS FLORENCE E. ALLEN, a member of the Executive Board of the Ohio Suffrage Association, has been traveling through the East during the past week in the effort to secure help for the Ohio campaign. Miss Allen reports that the prospects for success in Ohio are very bright and says that she is confident that suffrage will carry in Ohio at the November election, provided sufficient money and workers can be procured for the last seven weeks of the campaign. She says that interest among the workers has been greatly kindled by the Illinois suffrage victory, and states that towns which gave only 150 votes in 1912 contributed as many as 350 names to the suffrage petitions this year, indicating the change in sentiment as ascertained in a house to house canvass.

Practically all the work on the suffrage petition, which required 104,000 names, was volunteer service done by local women, the total cost of collecting the petitions amounting to only a little over $300. In the abundance of unselfish volunteer service that is given lies, it is felt, the greatest hope of victory. Other petitions, for instance the wet and dry and the tax petitions, to be voted on this November, were secured mainly through paid organizers at so many cents a name.

Miss Allen went to Ohio a few months ago to take up a law practice there upon her graduation from the New York Law University, and before entering the State was fully convinced that it was useless to attempt to carry the suffrage amendment in Ohio. After a few month's residence, however, she has come to the strong belief that only a little increase in money and workers is necessary in order to make success a certainty.

Nevada also reports that victory seems very probable in that State. Preparations have been made for a campaign of great vigor during the coming weeks. Miss Cotrill of Washington and Mrs. Ringrose of California will spend the last month prior to the election in the State. Mrs. Ehrgott of Oregon is planning to contribute nearly a month's work and it is hoped that Miss Maud Younger of California will be able to give some weeks to the campaign. Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman's Suffrage Association, will speak in Nevada from October 1 to 9. Miss Jane Addams, vice president of the same Association, will give two days to the State and Mrs. Antoinette Funk, a member of its Congressional Committee, will be there from October 8 to 14.

Citizenship of American Women

A GROUP of prominent Seattle women held a meeting this week to inaugurate a nation-wide movement to secure remedial legislation by Congress upon the present situation with regard to the citizenship of American women who marry foreigners. There are at present two bills before Congress on the subject—the Kent bill and the Thompson bill. The Seattle meeting endorsed the Thompson bill but asked that it be amended in one particular.

This question was further brought to the fore this week by the action of The Sociological Research Film Corporation in challenging the right of Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, graduate of the New York Law University and a member of the New York Bar, to practice law. Mrs. Boissevain had brought suit for $1,000 for professional services following her appearance in the case of the People against the Film Company. Mr. S. C. Sugarman, counsel for the Film Company, stated that as Mrs. Boissevain had married a citizen of Holland, since she was admitted to the bar, she had lost her citizenship in this country and become a citizen of Holland, and claimed that she had accordingly lost her right to practice law here. Whatever may be the final decision with regard to Mrs. Boissevain's right to practice law it is well to have attention called to the question of citizenship of American women who marry foreigners, and it is to be hoped that the existing discriminations will be speedily removed by national legislation.

International Suffrage Alliance Works for Peace

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT, president of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and Mrs. Rosika Schwimmer, of Hungary, secretary of the Alliance, had an interview this week with Secretary of State Bryan and President Wilson in which they presented cable messages and letters of appeal from European women to the United States, urging the latter to use its influence to end the Europeon war. Mrs. Catt says that the messages show an almost pathetic faith in the power of this country to bring about peace. She also presented a petition outlining a plan for mediation, calling for the establishment, preferably in Norway, of a Court of Arbitration, composed of members from all the neutral nations to which the warring nations might communicate their willingness to cease hostilities, the communication to be held confidential until all were ready for arbitration. Mrs. Catt and Mrs. Schwimmer were introduced to the President and Secretary Bryan by Senator Thomas of Colorado.

The Movement Abroad

REPORTS from Europe indicate that the suffrage agitation is still in abeyance, the energy of all suffrage organizations still being centered on relief work in their respective countries.

Word has been received from Hungary that the National Suffrage Headquarters have been converted into a woman's labor bureau and that 500 women have just been engaged, through this medium, as municipal street cleaners. This occupation had, prior to the war, been closed to women.

In England a Woman's National Rifle Corp is being organized by the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, a leading English Suffragist. The Woman's Tax Resistance League of England, an organization of Suffragists, the main feature of whose campaign is the refusal to pay taxes while unenfranchised, notified the government this week that its members would pay their taxes this year on account of the war. Members of the league have frequently sacrificed their property in the past rather than pay taxes.

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF AMENDMENT

Introduced:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:
In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:
In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.
In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:
In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.
On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.
Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:
In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:
In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:
In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:
In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

AN APPEAL TO THE WOMEN VOTERS

I, as an unenfranchised woman, residing in the State of New York, where, under the law, women rank with minors, aliens, criminals and idiots, send this appeal to you, the women of the West, living in an enfranchised State and recognized in the community as voting citizens, possessing equal rights with the men of our country.

The statement in this issue, of the treatment accorded the Woman Suffrage Amendment by the present Congress will enable you to judge of the apparent uselessness of going before any body of politicians empty-handed as voteless women must.

At a conference of eminent suffragists from many States held at Marble House, Newport, August 29 and 30, the Congressional Union, of Washington, D. C., working in behalf of the Federal Suffrage Amendment, passed a resolution calling upon the women voters of the enfranchised States to use the power they possess, in a united effort to defeat every Democratic candidate for the United States Senate and House of Representatives until the Democratic Government recognizes the justice of our demand and facilitates the passage of the Bristow-Mondell Amendment for Woman Suffrage. I ask you to remember that we have no more of a grievance against the Democratic Party than the Republican Party. It is our purpose to oppose any party in power that uses such power to oppose the enfranchisement of the women of America.

As from time immemorial women have stood together, shoulder to shoulder, for the betterment of civic conditions, for reforms that political corruption make necessary, for the preservation of human life, for high religious standards, the protection of the home, the uplift of humanity; so now we of the East are confident that the justice-loving women of the West will co-operate in demanding of our Government the political enfranchisement of the women of the United States. It is in the power of women to free women, the most exalted task the world has ever set; and the achievement will glorify forever the sisterhood of a new era which heralds the complete unity of the women of the future.

I would also remind you that whenever a group of men have won their political freedom, they have not hesitated to reach out and help other groups of men win theirs. They have stood together for their mutual benefit and their country's good. We now offer the voting women of the Western States the opportunity to prove equally magnanimous with men who have extended their assistance to their fellowmen.

In closing, permit me to suggest to the women voters of this country the advisability of forming themselves into a political body for the purpose referred to; and that they join the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, in order that we may all work in harmony in future, as this is only the beginning of a campaign which will be waged until victory is achieved.

(Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont.)

Alva E. Belmont

(President of the Political Equality Association and Member of the Executive Committee of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage.)

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THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

The Farewell Garden Party

THE plan of campaign determined upon by the Executive Committee and Advisory Council of the Congressional Union at the Newport Conference was first publicly announced at the garden party last Sunday afternoon at the home of Colonel Henry F. Blount and Mrs. Blount in Washington. The garden party was given as a farewell to the campaigners who were leaving the next day for the West.

The guests gathered on the lawn at the lower end of the grounds surrounding the beautiful old mansion house where they were served with tea

Miss Lola Trax

and cakes before the speech-making commenced. It was nearly five o'clock when Miss Alice Paul mounted the platform improvised against a background of trees and shrubbery, where the purple white and gold flags of the Union gleamed in the strong September sunshine. She introduced as the first speaker Miss Janet Richards, the well known lecturer, who has just returned from Europe and who within a few hours of her arrival in Washington accepted the invitation to speak of the effect of the war on the suffrage situation abroad. Miss Richards told of the splendid relief work which has been organized in London by the woman suffragists, led by the Duchess of Marlborough, and the courage and adaptability shown by the women of all the warring nations in taking up the work of their husbands, brothers and sons who have been called to the firing line. She asserted that the apparent interruption to the suffrage movement would in reality hasten the enfranchisement of European women, as men could not fail to understand and appreciate the immense service the women were rendering, and the wisdom and ability they were showing in every line of human activity.

Miss Paul then explained the plan of campaign to be followed during the next eight weeks, which is to urge the women voters of the nine equal suffrage states to withhold their votes from the Democratic candidates for Congress until the party ceases to block the passage of the proposed constitutional amendment enfranchising women.

"We are all agreed, I think," declared Miss Paul, "that it is the Democratic party which is responsible for the blocking of the suffrage amendment. Again and again the party has gone on record, through the action of its leaders, its caucus, and its committees, so that an impregnable case has been established against it.

"We propose therefore to appeal to the women in the West to use their vote to rebuke the party that has opposed at Washington the enfranchisement of women. We shall send out speakers and organizers to urge the women voters this once to lay aside all party considerations and vote against the Democratic candidates for Congress on this one issue.

"We shall work in the suffrage states only. We shall work only against the Democratic candidates. Not because we do not like the Democrats, but because the Democratic party has proved so effectively that it dislikes us.

"We have now, for the first time, in the equal suffrage states power to deflect a sufficient number of votes from the party in control of the government to prove to that party that the suffrage question is a live political issue that can no longer be ignored. It would be unintelligent not to make use of this power. The only other alternative would be to wait until by the mercy of Providence the Democratic party should be no longer in control of the government. And even then, we might receive no better treatment. But after it has been demonstrated that a party majority in Congress can be seriously reduced, if not destroyed, by an evasive or obstructive attitude toward the suffrage question, our fight will be won for all time. No party will ever again trifle with our measure, or smother it in committee."

In the discussion that followed the announcement of the election campaign program, Miss Paul explained the economy of time and energy of working for the suffrage through amending the Constitution by which method ratisfication by three-fourths of the state legislatures will enfranchise every woman in the United States. While every effort should be and will be made to add states to the equal suffrage column as rapidly as possible, the task is infinitely greater to appeal to and convert the individual voters of thirty-nine states than to win over the state legislatures of twenty-six states, which would be all that would be necessary for the federal amendment, as the equal suffrage states would of course ratify the amendment, and favorable action by the legislatures of twenty-six of the remaining thirty-nine states would be sufficient to make the amendment a part of the national Constitution.

The plan received instant and enthusiastic endorsement and among those who pledged themselves generously to support the congressional election campaign were Dr. and Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, Miss Janet Richards, Mrs. Henry F. Blount, Mrs. Frank W. Mondell, wife of Representative Mondell of Wyoming, and Mrs. Mary S. Lockwood, well known in the D. A. R. and in the Federation of Women's Clubs.

The receiving line at the Garden Party consisted of Dr. Cora Smith King, treasurer of the National Council of Women Voters, and a member of the Advisory Council of the Union; Mrs. Nina E. Allender, president of the District of Columbia Suffrage Association; Mrs. Henry F. Blount; Mrs. Frank W. Mondell; Mrs. Charles Bell, the wife of Representative Bell of California, and Mrs. Ellis Logan, president of the District of Columbia Branch of the Federation of Woman's Clubs. Mrs. Kate Boekh poured tea, assisted by Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke, president of the Chevy Chase Woman Suffrage League, and Mrs. Sinclaire Thompson of North Carolina.

Departure of the Campaigners

THE first group of campaigners left Washington Monday morning, September 14th, in a special car gaily decorated with purple white and gold banners.

Every crusader was armed with a Congressional Directory, a complete record of the public life of every candidate for Congress from the equal suffrage states, lists of members and friends of the Union and other prominent Suffragists, and loaded down with banners, regalia and campaign literature.

In the party were Miss Lucy Burns, vice-chairman of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs, National Press chairman of the Union; Miss Doris Stevens, who was in charge of the National Holiday campaign of the Union with headquarters at Newport; Miss Ruth Aston Noyes of Washington, who, in conjunction with Mrs. John Jay White, has just completed a most successful summer campaign in the Catskill Mountains; Miss Anna McCue, the Philadelphia organizer of the Union; and Miss Rose Winslow of New York, who took part in the Labor Deputation to President Wilson and has helped the Union on various occasions in the work at Washington.

At Baltimore the party was joined by Mrs. Edna S. Latimer, president of the First District of the Maryland Just Government League, and Miss Lola Trax, organizer of the Just Government League. The group went together to Chicago, where they were joined by Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore, an ardent Detroit member of the Congressional Union, and a member of the Board of the Wayne County, Michigan, Suffrage League.

Mrs. Edna S. Latimer

After spending the day in Chicago, with the Hotel La Salle as headquarters, the campaigners separated for their respective fields of work.

Miss Burns and Miss Winslow went to San Francisco, where they will establish headquarters

and organize the election work in the State of California. Miss Winslow will spend the entire time in speaking throughout the state, having cancelled all other engagements in order to devote herself to this election work. She is one of the most persuasive and moving speakers in the suffrage movement, and her work will be a great strength to the Congressional Union election campaign. She expects to speak in every city and town in each Congressional District in the State. Miss Doris Stevens and Miss Ruth Noyes went to Colorado, where they will open campaign headquarters in Denver. Mrs. Stubbs left for Oregon, where she is opening headquarters and will be joined later in the week by another organizer. Mrs. Stubbs is an experienced campaigner, having been, prior to her connection with the Union, an organizer for the New York State Suffrage Association and previous to that legislative secretary and treasurer of the Illinois Suffrage Association.

Miss Whittemore and Miss McCue left Chicago for Seattle, where the Washington campaign headquarters will be established. Miss McCue, who is only twenty-two years old, started work as a child in the textile mills of Philadelphia and remained in that work until this summer, when she became an organizer for the Union. She is an effective speaker and will probably turn many votes through the moving appeal that she makes from her first-hand knowledge of labor conditions among women. Mrs. Latimer and Miss Trax went together to Kansas, where they are establishing headquarters for that state. Both are experienced campaigners, having had charge of a large part of the brilliant work of the Maryland Just Government League during the past year.

Miss Mabel Vernon, a Congressional Union organizer, who has been working in the Nevada campaign since March, is leaving Nevada for Arizona, where she will open headquarters at Phoenix and take charge of the election work in that state. She will be joined this week by Miss Jane Pincus of Albany, N. Y., a graduate of Syracuse University and at present an organizer of the Women's Political Union.

Other campaigners will leave for the West within the next few days, so that by the end of the coming week National Campaign Headquarters will have been established in each of the nine suffrage states. Among those who will leave for the West with the next party that goes out is Miss Virginia Arnold of North Carolina, who has recently become an organizer for the Union. Miss Arnold, who has just completed her studies at Columbia University, is one of the first of the younger women from the South to take up active campaigning for the suffrage cause.

One of the most encouraging features of the undertaking is the splendid co-operation which is being given by suffrage organizations in different parts of the country. An instance is the action of the Maryland Just Government League and the Women's Political Union of New York, both of which have loaned one of their organizers for the entire period of the campaign.

From all parts of the country, moreover, are coming assurances from prominent individuals of willingness to aid in the election work. One of the most valuable offers of help received during the present week is that from Mrs. Lillian Harris Coffin, a member of the Advisory Council of the Union and the president of the New Era League of California, one of the most important women's organizations in that state. Mrs. Coffin writes: "You certainly have laid out a very ambitious plan for the campaign. You may be sure that you have my hearty approval and support."

First News from the Field

WORD has just been received from Mrs. Stubbs of a most successful beginning to the election campaign. She writes on board the North Coast Limited: "Here we are—all bound for the field of battle. Miss McCue, Miss Whittemore and I are together. Miss Whittemore joined us at Chicago full of earnestness and zeal. We have put up signs in each car that there will be a meeting tonight in the observation car and that we will speak on the record of the Democratic party in Congress on Woman Suffrage. There is much interest. We have sold ten Suffragists today on board the train, secured new subscribers to the Suffragist, and contributions for the campaign.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS

Suffragists and the Election

The Suffragists have declared war on the Democratic party and are getting ready for a campaign in the states which have women voters. Now that party is facing the pleasant predicament of the traditional warning, "Beware the fury of a woman scorned."—**Baltimore American, Sept. 15.**

The Congressional Union

The Congressional Union is in some ways the most remarkable suffrage organization in the country. It is the Congressional Union which has made votes for women one of the liveliest questions of the day at Washington for the last two years. If there is anything the average Congressman does not want to do at this time it is to declare himself on suffrage; and that is just what the Congressional Union has been forcing him to do again and again during the past two years.—**Newark, N. J., Evening Star, September 14.**

Betraying the Suffrage Movement

INCIDENTALLY it should be remarked here that the reactionary interests are campaigning to kill woman suffrage by declaring it to be a state movement. Woodrow Wilson has led the way, Bryan is expected to follow, and certain of the less upstanding of the women themselves, temporarily overawed by such authority, have turned in with this procession.

But they are marching away from suffrage.

It is true that before the Federal amendment enfranchising women can be passed by Congress, public sentiment must develop for suffrage, and while this sentiment is developing, several states will undoubtedly enfranchise their women. But this nation cannot exist as a nation half slave and half free, and women will finally be enfranchised by Federal enactment, exactly as direct election of Senators was finally imposed upon every state by a constitutional amendment, although for some time this, also, had been a state movement.

On November 12th, at Nashville, Tenn., the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association will have to face this issue of state versus Federal work. Will the women be led astray by the red herring of conservatism that has been cleverly drawn across the trail they are following, or will they, with their usual intuition, cleave straight to the line? —**Pearson's Magazine, October.**

The Woman's Suffrage Struggle

ROBERT L. HENRY, of Texas, chairman of the Rules Committee of the House, wants to be a Senator instead of a mere Representative. If the women of Texas had the vote it is certain that Henry would never be either again. Henry has in one-half of one session done more dodging, twisting and deceiving in order to cheat the women out of a chance to secure a roll-call on the proposed Bristow-Mondell amendment than the ordinary statesman usually has to do in an entire Congress.

Those interested in the campaign of the Congressional Union for Women Suffrage should buy a copy of its official organ, the "Suffragist," and learn how chivalrous statesmen consistently fail to keep their word with working women.

Women are in politics in Washington today, and whether or not they "purify" it, their success in exposing the true character of the Henrys and the little follow-the-boss Congressmen is a warrant that when women get the vote they will clean out some dirty corners which less particular men overlook.

Texas papers please copy.—**Pearson's Magazine, October.**

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

RECORD OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY ON SUFFRAGE

Speech at the Newport Conference by Miss Lucy Burns

LADIES, I want to go over the record of this present Congress on woman suffrage very briefly. Very briefly, because I know that a large proportion of those present have followed the action of Congress on the suffrage amendment just as carefully as we have.

We all know that the Republican Party went out of office two years ago amid a great popular outcry against the autocratic methods that they had used in Congress. We were led to believe, and some people do believe, that under the Democratic regime there was to be a more liberal rule in Congress. Now, it only needs a very cursory examination of methods at Washington to show us that the majority party today holds the whole machinery of Congress in just as tight control as the Republican Party did. It is naturally the ambition of every party, once it is in the saddle, to take the reins in its hands and hold them firmly.

Party Organization

The present Democratic Party entered into its period of rule with an extraordinary amount of power. It controls the Executive, the Senate and the House. The leader of the party, President Wilson, has through his office very great influence over his party in Congress. He has, in the first place, great powers of patronage. The prestige of every member of Congress at home depends to a considerable extent on his ability to secure appointments, large or small, for his constituents, and these appointments are in the long run to be won only through the President or the men whom he has appointed to act with him. It is a very self-sacrificing thing indeed for a party man to stand out against the Chief Executive. Then too, the President can use as a whip over his supporters in Congress, the necessity for party unity. That is an immense source of pressure which is as effective with honest Congressmen as with the more selfish type.

Over the Senate and the House the party rules by means of caucus majorities and committee majorities. Every committee in the House and Senate has on it a majority of the party in power. By uniting before hand on a concerted action they can control every decision of the committee upon legislation submitted to it. Caucus meetings of the rank and file of the party in the House and Senate are used to bind the action of every member of the party by the decision of the majority of the members of that party. As there is never a full meeting of all the members of a party at any caucus, a stout handful of dependable adherents can control and does control caucus decisions.

The Senate, as we all know, acts under much freer rules than the House, being a smaller body and still retaining strong traditions of complete freedom of action and discussion. The House, as the larger body, has been forced to submit to a control as stringent as was ever exercised in the days of Speaker Cannon. The ancient powers of Mr. Cannon have merely been divided between the Speaker, the Floor Leader, and the Chairman of the Rules Committee. The whole business of Congress is run by what might be described as a small party committee made up of the President and the party leaders in the Senate and House. It is these men who have had power of life and death over the suffrage amendment in Congress.

The President's Record

Our amendment was introduced on the 1st day of the 1st session of the present Congress in both the Senate and House. We at once appealed directly to the President, as the leader of his party in Congress, to give the suffrage amendment the backing of the Administration as he did every other measure which he wished to see carried. We have sent a number of similar deputations to the President, three of which have had memorable results.

The first deputations that called upon him were informed that though the President was much interested in our question he could not take action upon it because his first duty was to see legislation on the tariff enacted. Well, that was a fair temporizing answer and the committee withdrew with thanks. Naturally, however, when the tariff bill had been passed by Congress and was safely out of the way, we returned to ask the President again for favorable action on the suffrage amendment.

To one of the most important of these later deputations, one sent by the National American Woman Suffrage Association at the time of its annual convention in Washington last December, the President declared that he was "not a free man"—he was merely the "spokesman of his party," and was unable therefore to "start anything" which had not been "embodied as promises to the people at an election." This was strange doctrine. The Constitution lays no such limits on the President's powers. On the contrary, it expressly states, "The President shall from time to time give to Congress information as to the state of the Union and recommend for their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." This leaves the President a perfectly free hand in calling the attention of Congress to measures he wishes to see passed.

No other President in the history of the United States has so limited the sphere of his great office, nor did President Wilson himself do so in his learned and eloquent books on American institutions. On the contrary he has written in glowing language of the power placed in the hands of a strong President to serve his country forcefully In his Constitutional Government of the United States, Mr. Wilson writes, "He (the President) is undoubtedly the only spokesman OF THE WHOLE PEOPLE. * * * The Constitution bids him speak, and times of stress in government more and more force upon him THE ATTITUDE OF AN ORIGINATOR OF POLICIES."

The whole situation was clarified shortly after by the President's own action in forcing through both Houses of Congress a bill forbidding the exemption of the American ships from Panama Canal tolls. Exempting American vessels from the payment of tolls in the Panama Canal was one of the planks unanimously adopted by the framers of the Democratic platform at Baltimore in 1912; it had been defended by Mr. Wilson himself in his campaign speeches to the people. In boldly overturning this platform and election pledge against the will of his whole party in Congress, President Wilson plainly showed that when he wished to initiate legislation, he had plenty of power to do so. If he did not use it for woman suffrage it was because he did not wish to use it.

After the Canal Tolls Amendment Act had passed through Congress it was obviously the time for the Suffragists of the country to approach the President again and ask him to lend his support to the federal suffrage amendment, in view of his changed opinion of the Presidential prerogative. It seemed a propitious moment to bring up the subject, for all over the country there seemed to come a great welling up of suffrage sentiment. The bienniel convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs had just met in Chicago and at a wonderful meeting full of pure and optimistic enthusiasm had endorsed by an almost unanimous vote the principle of equal suffrage. The club women of the District of Columbia and of the surrounding states felt that it was a fitting time to go to the President, lay before his attention with all respect this vote of the club women of the Nation, and ask his active help for the suffrage movement.

To this deputation the President issued a new statement,—that he had a "passion for local self-government" and therefore felt that the question of woman suffrage should be settled locally and not nationally." When he was very gently questioned by the leaders of the deputation as to his reasons for thinking woman suffrage a matter to be settled only locally when the Constitution of the United States provides a legal channel for the enfranchisement of any section of the people

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ıationally, the President said, with some rigidity of manner, that he did not think it fitting that ıe should be subjected to cross-examination.

The sum and substance of the whole matter s that the President of the United States, as eader of the party in power in the United States Congress, has been asked to take favorable ac- ion on woman suffrage and has refused to do so.

The Record in the Senate

In the Senate, which, as we have said, oper- ıtes under freer rules than the House, it has been comparatively easy to get the question of woman suffrage brought up and voted upon. Although it was brought to a vote by the Democratic Sena- ors in charge of the measure at a time when, as hey admitted to the press, and openly stated on he floor of the Senate, it would meet defeat, it nevertheless secured a majority vote and failed of he necessary two-thirds majority by only eleven votes. We all know that if the Administration ıad supported the woman suffrage amendment, it would very easily have secured the additional eleven votes which would have carried it through he Senate triumphantly.

In the House

In the House we were very heavily handi- capped. The suffrage amendment had always been referred in the House to the Judiciary Com- mittee, which had buried suffrage measures for twenty-three years. We wanted in the House o get a standing committee on woman suffrage, ike the Woman Suffrage Committee already ex- sting in the Senate. A resolution to that effect was introduced and referred in due course to the Rules Committee. This was a very sensible re- quest, but it was refused; and refused, it was in- teresting to note, by the operation of caucus methods by the Democratic committee members.

It was all done most frankly and casually. The seven Democratic members of the committee voted against the proposal at a private meeting by a majority of four to three. The three favor- able votes were cast by Mr. Henry of Texas, Mr. Pou of North Carolina, and Mr. Foster of Illi- nois. When the official meeting of the committee was held, at which the members from the minor- ty parties were present, Mr. Henry absented himself and Mr. Pou regretfully changed his vote n obedience to the decision of the majority of his colleagues. All of the other Democrats voted against the proposal except Representative Fos- ter. Mr. Foster, who comes from a suffrage state, again voted in favor, but this meant little as the adverse votes and absences of the other Democratic members were sufficient to defeat it without the aid of his vote against it. All of the Republican members who were present and the one Progressive member voted in favor. The whole manoeuver resulted in a tie vote of four o four and the resolution was lost. It was lost as you see, by the vote of the Democrats on the Rules Committee, taken, as we were ourselves assured, after consultation with the Democratic leaders in the House.

It was clear to us and to all who followed the history of our bill in Congress that the whole Democratic party had this one time at least gone on record against woman suffrage, because the Rules Committee is one of the principle instru- ments and means of expression of the dominant party, which ever that party may be at any par- ticular time. After the Rules Committee had definitely refused to create the suffrage committee we appealed for action to the party as a whole as represented by its caucus. We wanted the party either to give us the committee or to make it clear to the whole country that the refusal to grant the committee on woman suffrage was a re- fusal of the party and not of a few members who happened to belong to this particular committee.

The Caucus Action

We therefore gathered together the signatures of fifty House members calling a caucus of the Dem- ocrats to consider the resolution creating a com- mittee on Woman Suffrage in the House. No vote was taken by the caucus on this proposal; instead a substitute resolution was introduced by Mr. Heflin and carried by a large majority, declar- ing it to be the sense of the caucus that woman suffrage was a state and not a national matter. This placed the Democratic Party squarely on record before the eyes of the whole country as being opposed to the national enfranchisement of women. For it is, of course, simply idle to say that woman suffrage is not a national question. Congress has the power to enfranchise women nationally and we have the right to ask them to do so. They may not wish to enfranchise us nationally. They may not wish to enfranchise us at all. But to say that the enfranchisement of the women of the nation is not a national mat- ter is to say what is not true.

The plan to create a committee in the House which would give fair attention to the claim of women to govern themselves was plainly, killed and killed by party action. However, a woman suffrage committee was not essential to success, and the answer of the caucus was anything but final in view of the right and habit of politicians of changing their minds. So with all buoyancy we turned to the main question and began active work in behalf of the suffrage amendment itself, which had all this time been lying before the House Judiciary Committee. To indicate to the Judiciary Committee that the old days were over and that the whole nation was asking them to do their duty in regard to the suffrage amend- ment, a great demonstration was organized from one end of the country to the other. On the second of May every state, every city of any size, and many towns and villages held processions, mass meetings, pageants, and demonstration of every type and kind, all simultaneously demand- ing from Congress favorable action on the suf- frage amendment. One week after, the resolu- tions passed all over the country were brought to Washington and carried up the steps of Congress by a brilliant procession. Four days after the nation-wide demonstration the Judiciary Commit- tee referred the suffrage amendment to the House. They did it as inadequately as possible They referred it without recommendation, favorable or unfavorable. Still their action had the advantage to us of bringing our amendment before the House for action It seemed reasonable to sup- pose that the House would proceed to take action upon it

We found, as a matter of fact, that before the House can take action on such a measure a reso- lution making the amendment the next order of business in the House must be passed, referred to the Rules Committee and reported out of that committee favorably. Every piece of important legislation has to go not only to one committee controlled by Democrats but to two committees controlled by Democrats.

The Rules Committee

When we found that the Rules Committee was the only channel for securing action, Resolution No. 514 was promptly introduced by Mr. Mondell of Wyoming, and on May 13th referred to the Rules Committee for action. Since that time they have adopted devious means for avoiding action on the suffrage resolution. It was difficult for them to vote against it and it seemed to be difficult for them to vote for it. They apparently decided that the best policy for them to pursue was to take no action at all, so they hit upon the happy expedient of holding no meetings whatever. From June 10th to August 28th not a single meet- ing of the Rules Committee was held. Up to the present time we have asked the House of Rep- resentatives for a fair vote on the question of woman suffrage and this has been refused us. It has been refused us not by one man here and another there, but by a committee, which, in the words of its ranking member, "holds in its keep- ing the policy of the Democratic Party in the House."

To sum up—the Democratic Party in the 63d Congress has made a record of very decided un- friendliness toward the suffrage amendment. It has made this record, through the action of its leader, the President, in seven times refusing all aid to the amendment; through the action of the Democratic leaders in the Senate in bringing the resolution to a vote at a moment when its defeat, as they themselves admitted, was certain and through their action in failing to put the party machinery back of the measure; and finally in the House through the action of the Rules Committee in preventing the creation of a woman suffrage committee and preventing the allotting of any time in the House for the consideration of the suffrage question. Moreover, the party very frankly went on record against suffrage when it caucused against the creation of a suf- frage committee and declared through its caucus resolution that suffrage was not even a subject for national consideration.

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Treasurer's Report

WE appeal to all members of the Union to send immediately the help they are contemplating giving to the election campaign to be carried on in the nine suffrage states. Money is needed at once for the rent of campaign headquarters in each of the suffrage states, for the printing of posters and literature, and for the railroad fare of speakers.

Contributions Toward $50,000 Fund for Securing the Passage of the Federal Amendment

(Fund opened December 7th, 1912. Donations, membership fees and tickets are here listed; receipts from the purely business departments of "The Suffragist" and the Literature Committee are not included.)

List of Contributions From September 4th Through September 14th, 1914.

A Friend	$21.76
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Anonymous	50.00
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Collections	39.48
Membership Fees	15.25
Sale of Tickets	3.00
Total	$927.99
Previously acknowledged in "The Suffragist"	$43,043.57
Total to September 14th, 1914	$43,971.56

New Members

AMONG the prominent women who have enlisted in the work for the federal amendment by becoming members of the Congressional Union are Mrs. Alice Thursby, sister of Arthur Brisbane of the New York American and Journal; Miss Benedict of Hull House, Chicago; Mrs. Fred Lyon, President of the Equal Franchise League of Norwalk, Conn.; Mrs. Egerton Winthrop of New York City; Mrs. William Bross Lloyd of Chicago, daughter-in-law of Henry Demarest Lloyd; and Mrs. Howard Strong, wife of the Secretary of the Civic and Commerce Association of Minneapolis.

1,000 New Subscribers

THE election campaign, on which we are now entering, makes it more important than ever before that the paper should reach as many homes as possible. Only through "The Suffragist" can we give the general public a knowledge of our election policy and work.

If you have not already secured one new subscriber will you not endeavor to do so now?

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers

Sept. 5th to Sept. 11th

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

Mrs. J. Borden Estee	1
Miss Minnie Abbott	1
Miss Eleanor H. Calnan	1
Miss Elsie Hill	1
Miss Ruth Astor Noyes	1
Mrs. Anna Lowenburg	2
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Mrs. J. P. S. Neligh	1
Mrs. Jessie Hardy Stubbs	2
Miss Elizabeth Smith	1
Miss Anna McCue	1
Dr. Caroline Spencer	1
	16
Previously acknowledged in "The Suffragist"	213
Total to September 11th	229

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The Advisory Council

ONE new member has been added to the Advisory Council during the past week, Mrs George H. Day of Hartford, Connecticut Mrs. Day, in accepting the invitation to join the Council, writes: "If I can help in your work I will join the Advisory Council and do all in my power, for I am in sympathy with the work you are doing and admire your wonderful ability and courage."

Mrs. Day is an influential member of the Connecticut State Suffrage Association, and her interest will be a source of strength to the Congressional Union in its work.

The members of the Council are rallying most enthusiastically to the support of the election work. Those who were not present at the conference have written to express their approval. Among other letters which have just been received is one from Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain. She writes: "Your plan of campaign seems to me excellent and very wise."

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